

9 December 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR: C/SR/3, SR/COP/PP

FROM : SR/3/W3 - []

SUBJECT : Access to Ukrainian SSR Via Poland

1. Introduction: In recent months Project AERODYNAMIC, through its Ukrainian emigre group, AECASSOWARY-1, has begun the exploitation of a new means of access to the project target area, the Ukrainian SSR. Since late 1955, the liberalization of the Polish political attitude towards the Ukrainian minority in Poland (consisting of approximately 350,000 people) has enabled the Ukrainians there to establish numerous contacts with their countrymen both in the Ukrainian SSR and in the emigration in the West. Thus, the Ukrainian minority in Poland now serves as a bridge for PP and operational access to the Ukrainian SSR. (For a more detailed study of the situation in Poland, see Attachment 1, entitled Ukrainian Minority in Poland.)

2. Initial Action: The initial AECASSOWARY-1 action began as early as 1954 when the group began sending copies of their newspapers Suchasna Ukraina, the literary supplement Ukrainska Literaturna Haset, and Ukrainskyy Samostlynik to selected individuals and libraries in Poland. When the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (USKT) was organized in Poland in July 1956 and began publishing its Ukrainian newspaper Nashe Slovo, copies of the AECASSOWARY newspapers were sent to editorial staff and members of the Society. A regular exchange of papers and correspondence was initiated and contacts with other Ukrainians in Poland were established. These individuals in turn sent more addresses and requested additional publications, including Ukrainian books and information on conditions of Ukrainian emigres in the West. Contact was also established with Polish libraries who requested scholarly works on Ukrainian history, literature, philology, and related subjects.

3. Personal Contact: In late 1956, AECASSOWARY-1 group encouraged Dr. Olexa HORBACH, a politically neutral West German Ukrainian professor of Slavic Studies at the University of Marburg to travel to Poland (ostensibly to contact Slavic scholars there) to investigate personally the possibilities of establishing more extensive contacts with Ukrainians there, and to find out whether any possibilities existed of relaying literature and information from the West to the Ukrainian SSR.

From the contacts which he made in Poland, Dr. HORBACH learned that the Ukrainians in Poland were in great need of factual literature in Ukrainian in order to revive their educational system and cultural life.

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He also learned from contacts with professors and students at Polish universities that much of the scholarly material on Ukrainian topics in Polish universities and libraries was frequently utilized by visiting students, professors, and scholars from the Ukrainian SSR. At the same time, information about the West, as well as publications and books, was being relayed to the Ukrainian SSR in the following ways:

- a. Ukrainians from Poland visiting relatives in Soviet Ukraine;
- b. Personal correspondence between Ukrainians of the two countries;
- c. Mailing of newspapers and other printed matter to the Ukrainian SSR;
- d. Personal contacts with visiting Soviet Ukrainian delegations, cultural groups, professors, and students;
- e. Polish Ukrainian students studying at universities in the Ukrainian SSR;
- f. Visits of members of the USKT and Nashe Slovo to Soviet Ukraine in an official capacity.

4. Expansion of Activities: On the basis of this information, the AEGASSOWARY-1 group began sending more copies of their newspapers and initiated a program of sending Ukrainian literature to Ukrainians and to Polish universities and libraries. From letters received from Poland, the group learned that the newspapers were relayed from individual to individual until the papers became completely tattered. Copies of the newspapers were also relayed into the Soviet Ukraine in letters and packages to friends and relatives there.

Literature was initially sent to universities at Lublin, Warsaw, Vratslav, Gdansk, and other cities. Acknowledgements were received from all universities and requests were sent for additional literature. In some cases, books were sent in exchange for the materials received. The greatest demand consisted of books on Ukrainian and European history, the Ukrainian Encyclopedia, histories of Ukrainian literature, children's books, and books on political, social, and cultural subjects. Several cases were reported where students and professors from the Ukrainian SSR traveled to Poland under various pretexts in order to consult HRUSHCHYK's History of Ukraine, and other scholarly works found in Polish universities.

The program of sending literature was gradually expanded and as of 1 December 1957, over 200 volumes have been sent to Poland, of which at least 15 to 20 volumes have been relayed to Soviet Ukraine. (See Attachment 2

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for a breakdown of the books sent into Poland, according to title and number of copies, and a breakdown of individual mailings and responses.) A file of over 150 addresses of institutions and individuals to whom literature can be sent has been set up. Fairly accurate biographies have also been collected on many of these individuals, including data on their political orientations. A regular correspondence has been set up with over 50 Ukrainians in Poland, and arrangements have been made with many of them (both through correspondence and personally) to have them send literature to the Ukrainian SSR.

6. Further Personal Contacts: In order to investigate the possibility of further contact with Ukrainians in the USSR, the AECASSOWARY-1 group encouraged two additional trips in 1957, namely:

a. A trip to the Moscow Youth Festival in July by Olena HORBACH, wife of Dr. HORBACH and a Ukrainian journalist in West Germany. While there she made contacts with Ukrainians from the USSR and conversed with them at great length about conditions in the Ukrainian SSR. (A report of her trips was submitted earlier, entitled "Report on a Trip to Moscow Youth Festival.") In Moscow she also made contact with a Ukrainian reporter from the newspaper Nashe Slovo in Warsaw and gathered further details about situation of Ukrainians in Poland;

b. A second trip to Poland by Dr. HORBACH in September and October 1957. While there he renewed contacts and made additional contacts among the Ukrainians. He probed the possibility of increased PP action against the Ukrainian SSR and established means of relaying literature to Soviet Ukraine. The majority of his information has been incorporated into the study "Ukrainian Minority in Poland", see Attachment 1.) At the same time, he was able to make direct contact with a Ukrainian from Soviet Ukraine who questioned him at length about the West and gave him information on conditions in the Ukrainian SSR.

As a result of the above-mentioned trips, at least four sets (four volumes each) of the Ukrainian Encyclopedia were relayed directly to the Ukrainian SSR. Arrangements were also made for additional mailing of literature to Soviet Ukraine through various contacts in Poland.

At the request of Dr. HORBACH, a Ukrainian from Poland made a trip to Czechoslovakia in order to investigate the situation of the Ukrainians there and to learn about the possibilities of establishing contact with them and through them to the Ukrainian SSR. (A report on this trip should be forthcoming shortly.)

As reported in the study on the Ukrainian minority in Poland, six Ukrainian students from Poland have been sent to Kiev to study

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Ukrainian literature. Dr. HORBACH made arrangements to have a report on their stay there and their observations of Soviet Ukraine relayed to him as soon as they return to Poland.

7. Operational Possibilities: In view of the above developments, it is evident that the AECASSOWARY effort of sending literature and PP materials to the Ukrainians in Poland has resulted in a strong PP action against the Ukrainian SSR. This has been possible through the contacts established with the Ukrainians in Poland and arrangements made to relay as much literature into the Soviet Ukraine as is possible. Future PP action aimed against the Ukrainian SSR should be undertaken with the knowledge that Poland can now serve as an effective channel of information from the West to the Ukrainians in the USSR. Efforts should be made to utilize this channel further for an intensified PP action aimed at the Ukrainian SSR.

At the same time it is entirely possible to utilize the contacts already established by the AECASSOWARY-1 group among the Ukrainians in Poland for the development of REDSKIN or REDSOX-type operations aimed against the Ukrainian SSR. Considerable intelligence information could be obtained by Ukrainians in Poland (either through personal visits to the Soviet Ukraine, or through contacts with visiting Soviet Ukrainian groups and individuals), and then could be relayed to a REDSKIN traveler in Poland.

The present intolerable economic situation of many Ukrainians in Poland has caused many of them to petition the Soviet Embassy to permit them to emigrate to the Ukrainian SSR. In the event such permission is granted, the Ukrainians thus emigrating could be utilized for relaying literature and PP materials to the Ukrainian SSR. The possibility of recruiting some of these Ukrainians for an intelligence mission in Soviet Ukraine might also be possible. It should be noted that the political situation in Poland is tending towards more repression, and should this trend increase, present operations would be seriously hindered. It is therefore imperative that an increased PP action and initiation of other operations be started as soon as possible.

8. Recommended Action: Approval has been given the AECASSOWARY-1 group to increase their mailing program in the next few months, including an intensified effort to send as much literature as possible via Poland to the Ukrainian SSR. (Included as Attachment 3 is a tentative list of materials to be mailed and the number of copies of each needed.) Further expansion of this program will be limited by the insufficient amount of funds available under the current AERODYNAMIC budget.

Additional trips to Poland and the Ukrainian SSR should be made possible in order to establish further contacts and to obtain more information on the conditions in the Ukrainian SSR. Trips could be made by Ukrainians in the West who could ostensibly visit their relatives in Poland and

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the Ukrainian SSR but who could be briefed on specific missions.

Literature and nominal funds should be made available to AECASSOWARY-1 representatives in Paris, Munich, London, Rome, Belgium, and Austria, in order to aid them in making contacts with visiting Ukrainian delegations and tourists. Besides relaying literature to them, they could obtain information on the Ukrainian SSR. Such a contact was made by the AECASSOWARY representative in Paris with a Polish Ukrainian architect from Gdansk. The architect was willing to take back a considerable amount of literature to Poland, including several sets of the Ukrainian Encyclopedia. One of these sets he relayed to the Ukrainian SSR upon his return to Poland. He also stated that the Ukrainian books that he had brought back were literally snatched away from him by other Ukrainians, so hungry are they for information about the West.

9. Comments and suggestions from the addressees will be appreciated.

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Attachments:

1 - 3 as described in memo

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